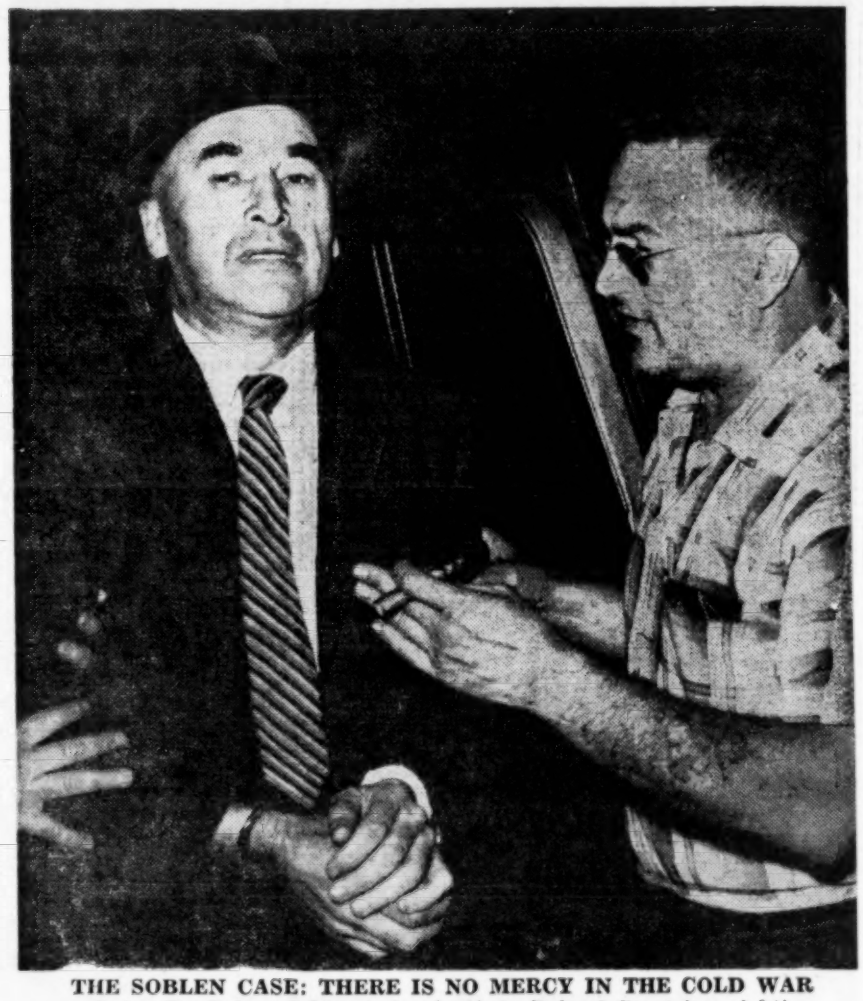
EYEWITNESS IN BERLIN: THE DAY THE BORDER CLOSED—AND WHY . . . Page 5



THE SOBLEN CASE: THERE IS NO MERCY IN THE COLD WAR
Dying Dr. Robert Soblen in handcuffs in Federal Court (see right)

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THE FACTS AND THE FANTASY

The Soblen case: A 'master spy' myth spun by the FBI

William A. Reuben, author of The Atom Spy Hoax *and* The Honorable Mr. Nixon, *wrote the exposes of the Trenton Six and Rosenberg Cases for the GUARDIAN in 1948-51. He is now completing a book on the Hiss case. For this report on the case of Dr. Robert Soblen, accused of conspiracy to commit espionage, Reuben attended the recent trial and has done extensive research into its background. This is the first of a series of articles on the case.*

By William A. Reuben

THE FBI CREATED banner headlines across the nation on Jan. 25, 1957, by announcing that after a ten-year, round-the-world investigation and search it had caught up with "Russia's master spy in North America," a 53-year-old Lithuanian-born, naturalized American citizen named Jack Soble.

Ever since, for the last four and a half years, America's wire services, radio and television networks, newspapers, picture magazines and newsweeklies have joined in making the "master spy's" name a household word.

CBS's hour-and-a-half "documentary" television program, **The Spy Next Door**, depicted Soble as a "master spy" to an audience of at least 50 million Americans; **Look** magazine (30 million readers) ran a three-part series which said that Soble, "one of the most skilled professional spies in the world," had directed a network of Soviet agents in North and South America and Europe that had managed to "obtain important U.S. atomic secrets." The Hearst press, with an audience of millions, syndicated under Soble's byline (faked, it later turned out) a series entitled "How I Spied for the Russians."

BOOK & FILM: Boris Morros' best-selling book, **My Ten Years as a Counterspy**, with its paperback sales of millions, labeled Soble "my superior," who handled himself with the arrogance of "a new king holding court." The Hollywood film made from Morros' book, starring Ernest Borgnine, portrayed Soble as an efficient, ruthless, wholly dedicated Russian "master spy." The House Un-American Activities Committee took testimony from Morros and issued a publication, **International Communism**, depicting Soble as the head of a worldwide network.

There is still more: Four related "spy" proceedings since Soble's own arrest—the 1958 trial on perjury charges of Harvard professor Mark Zborowski; the indictment in absentia on espionage charges of Alfred K. and Martha Dodd Stern and of George and Jane Foster Zlatovsky; and, in July, 1961, the trial of his own brother, Dr. Robert Soblen (in the Americanization of their name, the brothers adopted different spellings). In all of these cases, Soble, as the chief government witness, was again played up by the press as a "master spy."

NO DETAILS: Although the nation was thus saturated, and Soble himself, 2½ months after his arrest, had pleaded guilty, details of what Soble had done or

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A RELIGIOUS 'WAR' OVER FUNDS

Catholic campaign stymies Congress on school aid bill

By Lawrence Emery

A SMALL BUT HOT religious war has just been fought in the United States, with the public school system on the losing side. A determination by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to oppose any program of Federal aid to education that didn't include parochial schools led to the Congressional defeat of such a program on July 18.

On Aug. 17, at President Kennedy's request, Congressional leaders agreed to salvage what they could with a drastically curtailed aid-to-education program from which most of the controversial points of the original one have been omitted. But even this modest plan faces an uphill fight and is likely to die in the last-minute stampede once adjournment fever hits Congress.

The wounds sustained in the church-school battle, much of it fought behind the scenes, will be long in healing; it has been many years since a religious-political issue has stirred such passions in this country. On Aug. 14 Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) charged the Catholic clergymen with seeking to block the "legitimate aims of a majority of our people through pressure tactics" and said that if they succeeded the result would be a "whirlwind of resentment when the people of this country learn the facts." He warned that "the latent religious quarrels of past history will be brought to life again and the fabric of our civil society will be stretched once more to the breaking point."

SCHOOL 'CRISIS': The battle began in January when a Presidential task force on education recommended Federal aid

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Report on Alliance for Progress: Guevara steals the show

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

CHE STOLE THE SHOW . . . Cuba the Big Winner: thus **Mundo Illustrado** (Rio de Janeiro) and **Ultima Hora** (Santiago de Chile) headlined a new victory on the political front for Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Cuba's Minister of Industry and an expert in the military and economic twisting of big lions' tails. The manifold contradictions between the U.S. and its hemisphere neighbors, and Guevara's strategy and tactics, which brilliantly exploited those contradictions, frustrated Washington's hopes of turning its "Alliance for Progress" conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, into a gang-up against the Cuban revolution.

The Brazilian paper said the Cubans had actually "reinforced their influence"; **Ultima Hora** described "the respect with which their arguments have been received" as a "major triumph." **Noticias Graficas** (Buenos Aires) said the U.S. had suffered two reverses: "Approval of many modifications" in the Washington plan and failure to get "any concrete sanctions against Cuba." While the conference proceeded, Ecuador's President Valesco Ibarra reaffirmed condemnation of all aggression by one state against another and called for the Cuban question to be considered "with serenity and concern for truth and justice." Brazil's Quadros invited Guevara to drop by on his way home (he got Brazil's top decoration when he did), and sent a trade mission to Havana. The Cuban delegation took the opportunity to start trade talks with Uruguay.

WHEN U.S. DELEGATION LEADER Douglas Dillon flew into Uruguay, the N.Y. **Times** reported that everyone in the airport multitude "turned his back to the runway and fell silent"; 15 minutes later they gave Guevara a "wild flag-waving reception" as troops faced them with teargas guns. (Asked here if this might be "just a Communist demonstration," visiting leaders of Uruguayan parties called such a suggestion "absurd.")

In a message from President Kennedy and a "formal definition" by Dillon, the U.S. offered $1 billion in short-term financing of Latin American projects. Dillon said that a total of $20 billion over the next ten years, in loans from various "free" countries, "could logically be expected" if the recipients "took the necessary internal measures."

Guevara—"the most comfortable man in the stifling conference room" (N.Y. **Times**) in his open-necked fatigue uniform—called the $20 billion "an interesting figure." But while little Cuba would get about $500 million (of which $357 million was already granted) in credits from socialist countries over the next five years—loans which "give us control of our own economic development"—everything over $500 million of the U.S. promises to all the rest of Latin America

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Perspective

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Here is what I wrote President Kennedy:

"From a historical point of view it does not seem wise to burden this country so, with increased military expenditures. We certainly need more foreign trade, which would help us internally, and we definitely need to build up good will for ourselves among other nations, which would help us externally. Fear of our military might throughout the world will do neither of these things.

"My historical perspective of this country dates from 1620, as it is also family history—five ancestors having come to these shores in the well-known ship of that time, and one of these having written the history of **Plimoth Plantation.**"

Helena Chase Johnson

P.S.: Our Peace - Walker - to - Moscow, Bradford Lyttle, stems from the same.

Good question

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. President, may I ask you a question: If we in the U.S.A. would spend the money that's being spent on defense—and now you are asking for more—if we would spend all that at home on medical research, schools, hospitals, new homes, agriculture, transportation and atomic power for peaceful uses, would we not be the envy of the world? Would any Americans ever think of changing their way of life?

Joseph A. Marom

Real purpose

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

My opinion, Mr. President, is that your present course only demonstrates again that the real purpose of the cold war program has not been to contain world communism (which has grown stronger) but to contain the lives and aspirations of Americans.

I advise you to take the extra billions you demand to save world reaction and use them to make life better for long-suffering Americans who are still under - fed, under - housed, under-educated, and deprived of their human and civil rights. Use your energies and powers to inspire those Americans who want to believe that the power of our government can be used to achieve the noble promises of our Bill of Rights.

Raphael Konigsberg

SWP mayoralty ticket

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your readers should know that the Socialist Workers Party has begun a petition campaign to put its candidates on the ballot for the coming New York City election. We are running Richard Garza for Mayor, Sylvia Weinstein for City Council President, Fred Halstead for Comptroller and Clarence Franklin for Manhattan Borough President.

The SWP will be the only party on the ballot that supports the Cuban revolution. We feel that the achievements of this first socialist revolution of the Americas offers some real answers to the immediate problems of the working people of New York City. The candidates will bring the achievements of the Cuban revolution, the urban reform, the ending of racial discrimination, etc., before the voters as examples of what can be done by the people themselves to solve their problems.

Anyone who would like to sign a petition, or to help circulate them, can call the campaign office, AL 5-7852, at 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

Allen Taplin

Shark vs. sardine

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Please be informed that our great bastion of the "free world" employs as many as six jamming stations against Radio Havana, which is an English- and Spanish-language shortwave station.

Extremely reliable information derived from one radio engineer and three radio hams living in widely separated parts of our country, through the process of signal orientation and triangulation, confirmed the location of these anti-Cuban jammers.

What an image! The shark afraid of the sardine's influence.

J. A.

Soldier to soldier

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

Twenty years have passed since the armies of Hitler invaded our country and embroiled it in a terrible war. Great calamities befell our people. The war destroyed many human lives, millions of people lost their families. Never will the years of World War II be effaced from the memory of our generation.

In those years of joint struggle against fascist Germany the bond of the Soviet people and all the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition was fostered. We remember the Elbe link-up of Soviet and American soldiers, and are sure that you, too, have not forgotten it.

We who know from personal experience what war is can readily realize the threat for humanity that lies in the sanguinary plans of those who are preparing for a new war. Naturally enough, war veterans cannot help being in the front ranks of the fighters for peace. We stand for the friendship and understanding of peoples; we want any controversial issues to be solved in conditions of peace.

Eternal glory to the soldiers killed in action in the struggle against fascism!

We Soviet writers, who took part in the war against fascism, appeal to you, American veterans, who cherish the memory of dead friends and contemporaries, to give all the strength of your hearts, all your energy to the struggle for peace on earth.

Sergei Baruzdin
Boris Polevoi
Konstantin Simonov
Sergei Smirnov
Leonid Sobolev

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BOSTON (AP)—A fighting ship is getting ready to combat communism — with lollipops. The USS Forrest Sherman, a destroyer intended for anti-submarine warfare, has taken aboard 10,000 lollipops for distribution to the kids in African ports.

—Los Angeles **Times**, Aug. 13

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: I. L., Santa Monica, Calif.

On Henry Winston

PARIS, FRANCE

I have just learned of the release of Henry Winston. His freedom, expected for some time, is due in large part to the work carried out by the Free Winston Committee in the U.S. and in other countries.

The International Assn. of Democratic Jurists is happy to have participated in this movement and to have enlisted the help of a number of jurists.

I hope that Winston will regain his health back home with his wife and children.

Our association continues to express its solidarity with the victims of the repression now current in the U.S.

Joe Nordmann
Sec. Gen., Assn. of Democratic Jurists

Bentley, Daily Mail, London

"No. I haven't been brainwashed, I've simply reached an intellectual decision that the boss is right."

Elsie H. Tyndale

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

A steadfast friend of the GUARDIAN died here this Spring—Elsie H. Tyndale, long of New York City. Mrs. Tyndale was 87, and had lived here with relatives for the last several years. New Yorkers will remember her as the small white-haired lady who because of her failing hearing always found a front seat at meetings in the Wallace-for-President year and at most other convocations of progressive people in the last two decades.

Born in Council Bluffs, Ia., she was a graduate of the University of Chicago, attended Columbia University and for a great many years, until her retirement in the 40s, worked as a psychologist for the City of New York.

She had a fall early this year which kept her in bed for the last weeks of her life. She struggled valiantly against being kept in bed, because her life had always been so active. While she was under care she donated her books to the library of the nursing home in which she ended her years. We know her many friends here and in New York will miss her.

Friends

Mrs. Tyndale bequeathed $1,000 to the GUARDIAN in her will, but sent the sum to us several years ago "so we might both enjoy its use.—Ed.

Joy unconfined

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In some low-income areas of New York City, citizens have thrown objects at members of the police force. In fact, each radio patrol car now carries two helmets for possible wear. Do not be disturbed. These people are simply showing their joy at receiving the benefits of the New Frontier.

F. L. H.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"THANK GOD FOR KOREA!" Gen. James A. Van Fleet told AP last week at 8th Army HQ. "Where would our people be if we hadn't something like this to shock them into action?" If truce talks failed, his troops would resume fighting "with hate and eagerness," he said.

. . . In Canada's conservative **MacLean's** magazine, editor Pierre Berton—recently returned from Korea—described "villages roasted by our napalm," and commented: "If we had gone into Korea as an invading army of conquerors with the express purpose of humiliating the citizenry, we could have done no worse than we have done in the name of UN, the western world and the democratic way of life."

From the National Guardian, Aug. 29, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Alliance for Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

was uncertain and subject to Washington reservations. "We should not forget," said Guevara, "that we are faced with a Presidential and parliamentary regime, not a dictatorship like Cuba."

LATER, AT AN SRO PRESS CONFERENCE, Che invited any and all to come and see whatever they liked in Cuba, including "our great rocket base, submarine base and concentration camps." His irony and humor and calmness throughout the conference, together with his positive approach to all concrete proposals while maintaining Cuba's attitude, forced private expressions of respect even from U.S. officials. Dillon, who rashly opened with a text from the Cuban revolutionary "apostle" Jose Marti, was made to look ridiculous by a barrage of anti-imperialist Marti broadsides, quoted by Guevara from a speech to a Washington "monetary conference" in 1891 which Marti attended as delegate from Uruguay. Guevara then said he was going to make a political speech "because all economic conferences are political" and this conference was "a political confabulation" against Cuba and the example Cuba has set for the whole continent.

"Smilingly directly at Mr. Dillon . . . who smiled back briefly" (N.Y. **Times**), Guevara said Cuba would support the Alliance for Progress if it really stimulated native economies and furthered social justice. He recalled the U.S. aggressions against Cuba since the firing of cane fields by U.S. planes in 1959, when the revolution's sole major action had been the agrarian reform. Cuba had replied, he said, with the Declaration of Havana to the Organization of American States' "denial to us of the right to defend ourselves" against U.S. sugar and oil moves. Then had come the U.S.-sponsored invasion by "the only army in the world to surrender virtually intact." The latest U.S. move, Guevara said, was an attempt—documented here by the confessions of arrested Cuban participants—to assassinate Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro last July 26 and fake a Cuban "reprisal attack" on the Guantanamo base. Guevara gained loud applause as he appealed to the U.S. delegation's "feeling of equity and justice" to "normalize the situation" with regard to hijacked planes.

He suggested that the Alliance for Progress plan as it stood was too preoccupied with latrines—not that these were not important—and had nothing to say about industrialization. The figure it presented as "a most beautiful thing" for over-all annual development was 2.5%, but Cuba's figure for its own development was 10%. At that rate Latin American per capita production would rise from the present $330 to $500 by 1980, when in Cuba it would be $3,000 "if we are left in peace." Any agrarian reform, Guevara said, which didn't take land from those who have much and give it to those with none was "just a siren's song," and the only way to make economic planning work was with "political power in the hands of the working class."

AMONG RESOLUTIONS and amendments put forward by Cuba were:

- Immediate bilateral negotiations for evacuation of bases and territories held in one American country by another;
- Co-ordination of development and technical aid plans without ideological distinctions;
- Unqualified guarantees of price and market stabilization, and against dumping of surpluses, unilateral suspension of purchasing in traditional markets and other forms of economic aggression;
- A scholarship system for training technical specialists, and for analyzing economic problems which now prevent Latin Americans from completing their studies;
- Free access for Latin American countries to socialist as well as capitalist markets (many minerals now being barred because the U.S. calls them "strategic");
- Nationalization of all foreign agricultural enterprises within five years;
- Increasing the plan's ten-year loan figure from $20 to $30 billion (as proposed by Fidel Castro to the OAS in April, 1959), all of it to come from public funds (rejected by the U.S. as "inadmissible" and "incompatible with the documents");
- Turning fortresses and barracks into schools throughout the continent, as Cuba has done while under constant threat of aggression. (To a Peruvian colonel who counter-proposed—and withdrew in face of derisive laughter—that armies should go into the education

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DISSENSION MARKS A WORLD MEETING AT TOKYO

Anti-A-Bomb movement weathers a crisis

Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

THE STRONGEST peace movement in the capitalist world, rooted in Gensuikyo (the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs) has survived one more crisis. The Seventh World Conference against nuclear weapons and for total disarmament, sponsored by Gensuikyo, closed Aug. 15 after a week of unprecedented dissension.

Under increasingly ruthless attack from the right and center political parties of Japan, pilloried by the press, threatened by internal splits and challenged by a "Second Gensuikyo," the conference ended in the shadow of future strife. But it ended as a unit, and the Japan Council has preserved its potential as a great mass movement opposing the critical threat of nuclear war.

Of the delegations from 28 nations and eight international organizations, about half were from the socialist bloc. Many of the 110 foreign delegates and observers were from the Afro-Asian region, but two of the largest groups came from the U.S. and Australia. At the plenary sessions about 10,000 delegates, mostly Japanese, participated.

Coinciding with the opening of the main conference, peace marches converged on Tokyo from the remotest parts of Japan. Some had marched as much as 500 miles, and were joined by thousands upon thousands of sympathizers as they entered the environs of Tokyo. During the entire march of 30,000 kilometers over 12 routes, millions of well-wishers applauded or joined the columns.

VAST MOVEMENT: It is this magnitude, determination and organization of the Japanese peace movement—and its solidarity with other groups all over the world—which must be kept in mind in evaluating the conference. The motives of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic party and its satellite, the Democratic Socialist Party, in trying to split or neutralize the movement are obvious: They want Japan to be an armed ally of the U.S. in the battle against communism.

SANE, New York

But the internal strains are more complex. This complexity stems from the breadth of the movement, whose organized foundation consists of Socialists (right- and left-wing), Communists, the Sohyo labor federation (which has close ties with the Socialist Party) and the two major federations of women and youth (Chifuren and Nisseikyo).

The latter three groups have a combined membership of more than 15 million. In addition, Gensuikyo has an enormous number of adherents not included in these categories.

The success of Gensuikyo in uniting mass organizations of divergent policies, and organizing the unorganized to expand the peace front is an astonishing achievement in itself. But that it has been able to maintain a hard-hitting and ideologically consistent policy under these conditions is even more amazing. Added to domestic difficulties, there is the problem of harmonizing Japanese views with those of the peace movements of the capitalist, socialist and newly emerging nations.

EARLY TROUBLE: There was trouble even before the conference began. The Democratic Socialist Party, since its breakaway from the Socialists more than a year ago, has been trying to split Gensuikyo. In collaboration with the right-wing labor federation, Zenro, the DSP set up a rival "peace" organization which has the support of the ruling Tory party.

A HUGE RALLY WELCOMES THE PEACE MARCHERS TO THE TOKYO CONFERENCE
Bouquets and cheers greeted the walkers who converged on the meeting from all corners of Japan

At a preliminary meeting of this "second Gensuikyo," in Hiroshima early in August, Dr. Earle Reynolds (skipper of the yacht Phoenix which he tried to sail into the Eniwetok H-bomb test zone in 1958) made a speech critical of Gensiukyo, which had invited him to attend the world conference. This disturbed the Gensuikyo leadership, and in a letter to the U.S. delegation they conditioned Dr. Reynolds' being seated as a delegate "on his future cooperation with the Japan Council in its basic policy." Dr. Reynolds refused to accept this condition—he had a guarantee of the right to express his opinions within the conference—and was removed as a delegate.

The U.S. delegation (headed by Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers, and including Dr. Corliss Lamont, who spoke for the U.S. delegation at the opening session of the conference; Robert Moore, a functionary of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, author and teacher) and nine observers met and voted not to contest the Japan Council's decision. Three of the 11 members present abstained and Dr. Lamont, one of the three, made it clear that while he opposed Dr. Reynolds' activities, he was also opposed to the exclusion of Dr. Reynolds. (Dr. Reynolds has been a visiting professor of anthropology at Hiroshima Women's University for the last year). Nixon said the U.S. delegation's discussion with Dr. Reynolds had been cordial.

CHARGE OF POLITICS: After this meeting, Dr. Reynolds and his son Ted, (who was present as an observer) immediately called a press conference protesting the "exclusion" and criticizing Gensuikyo. In a press release, Reynolds said:

"There are many earnest and genuine workers for peace at this conference. There are also delegates with political purposes."

This reflects the main thesis of critics of Gensuikyo, who hold that the discussion of political issues and advocacy of political action is incompatible with "pure humanitarianism." Dr. Reynolds seemed to have placed himself on the side of the enemies of Gensuikyo who, for what was regarded as clearly political reasons, sought to counter the organization's activities. At the inaugural rally of the "Second Gensuikyo "Aug. 15, Dr. Reynolds was a featured speaker and again attacked Gensuikyo. Among the guests of honor at that rally was the ardently pro-U.S. Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, long a leading promoter of Japan's unconstitutional arms buildup. Under his leadership Japan's armed forces are now being equipped with nuclear-capable missiles. Dr. Reynolds' attacks on Gensuikyo delighted the press, which is now almost universally hostile to the established peace movement and backs the opposing group.

AFRICAN VIEWPOINT: The principal difficulty within the conference was that of drafting statements satisfactory to delegates of divergent viewpoints. There were long disputes in the drafting committee. Most controversial was the position of certain Afro-Asian nations that major emphasis should be placed on imperialism as the root cause of nuclear armament, overseas bases and the war threat. Ahmed Kheir of Sudan declared the world peace movement should be subordinate to the national liberation movement. Supporting a similar but less extreme position were Chinese and Japanese delegates.

Cleavage over the issue of imperialism was also apparent between Japanese delegates affiliated with Sohyo and the Socialist Party, on the one hand, and those with a left-socialist or communist outlook. The latter hold that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of peace; Sohyo and the Socialists consider Japanese monopoly capital, promoting militarism and fascism, the main enemy. Internationally, they advocate a neutralist policy.

DISPUTES ENDED: Another significant division was between those who castigated the imperialists as the exclusive culprits in the cold war, and those who wished also to indict the Soviet Union and China. However, there was no support for American cold-war policy, nor any denial of the dangers inherent in imperialism. The primary concern was one of emphasis and wording. With few exceptions, the delegates represented organizations, federations or entire nations, and therefore insisted on statements that would satisfy those whom they represented.

Most differences seemed to have been adjusted, if not resolved, before the final session. However, four major groupings advocating "moderation" made last-minute demands that some statements be withdrawn for alteration. But they lacked sufficient committee votes, and the statements were submitted without change to the plenary session and approved by acclaim.

The conference closed in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and good will. Foreign delegates, decked with wreaths of paper cranes and carrying bouquets, assembled on the platform as the Atom-Bomb Hymn was sung, and paraded through the huge Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium to receive the congratulations of the Japanese participants.

CRITICAL TIME: But meanwhile, leaders of the Socialist Party, Sohyo, the Federation of Women's Associations (Chifuren) and the Japan Youth Association (Nisseikyo) were holding a liaison meeting in which they declared their determination to eliminate "extreme leftist" leaders from Gensuikyo and install others who would follow a more "moderate and impartial" political line.

Gensuikyo is in trouble—perhaps deeper trouble than at any time since its inception in 1954. And its ordeal comes at a time of worsening East-West relations. Japan, the key to U.S. domination of the Far East and the "containment" of China, must be equipped to wage war if the Washington strategy to protect its crumbling economic-military empire is to be pursued. Hence Japan, like Germany, must be nuclearized at the earliest possible date.

The greatest obstacle to Japanese rearmament is Gensuikyo, which has had the capacity to mobilize Japanese willing to act for peace. There seems little likelihood that the "Second Gensuikyo," actually a front for the Government's rearmament policy; will attract great public support; and the split in the real Gensuikyo long sought by its enemies has been averted.

INTERNAL FIGHT: The principal dangers are that the present leadership may heighten the crisis by insisting on a political line unacceptable to the leaders of the supporting organizations; and that the latter, overanxious to appease Gensuikyo's critics, may knuckle under to the red-baiters to the extent that the movement becomes ineffective. And while the internal fight goes on, Gensuikyo's activities and prestige will suffer.

A most encouraging factor is that most of the Japan Council's supporting groups, and the overwhelming majority of its adherents, know that peace will be won not by pious invocations but only by vigorous action against the causes of war.

'Master spy'

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as William Reuben's story of the Soblen trial on page 1, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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The National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. New York 9

The Soblen Case

(Continued from Page 1)

pleaded guilty to were never made public.

At the time of Soble's arrest (he, his wife Myra and a 65-year-old Lithuanian-born U.S. resident named Jacob Albam were picked up by FBI agent George Tempro, who has not been heard of in the case since) the N.Y. **Times** said: "No details were made available by the FBI as to the nature of the espionage activities allegedly carried out by the Sobles and Albam."

Two weeks later the trio was indicted on charges of spying for Russia since 1952. Between the arrests and indictment, no details were provided. Three days after the arrests the **Times**, under the headline, DEATH IS WEIGHED IN SPY CASE HERE, reported: "U.S. Attorney Paul W. Williams indicated today that he was considering whether to seek a possible

death penalty against three accused as members of a Soviet spy ring."

GOVERNMENT SILENT: When all three defendants pleaded not guilty on Feb. 13, 1957, U.S. Attorney Williams told the court: "It is not deemed to be in the best interests of the Government to make any disclosure at this point regarding the Government's case."

Six days later Soble, after having been found in what the **Times** called "an apparent state of collapse" in his prison cell, was taken to Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric examination. The **Times** reported authorities as saying that Soble "had been acting peculiarly and that his condition was 'psychogenic,' described as a mental condition brought on by physical causes."

Two days later the Sobles, through their attorney, George Wolf, moved to dismiss five of the six counts against them on grounds that the language was "vague and uncertain," making it impossible for them to determine what they were accused of. Action on this motion was held up pending the psychiatric examination of Soble.

On April 1 the Bellevue psychiatrists issued a report which went to the judge and prosecutor, but was not made public. The prosecutor, U.S. Attorney Paul Williams, said the report showed Soble was capable of standing trial but had "depressive symptoms, with anxiety and depressive features" which, Williams added, had "never reached psychotic proportions."

PLEAS CHANGED: On April 10 the Sobles changed their original pleas of not guilty to guilty on one of the six counts against them. This count charged them, according to the **Times**, with "conspiring with a third defendant, Jacob Albam, and a number of Russian officials to obtain documents, writings, photographic negatives and notes of things connected with national defense." What specifically the alleged conspiracy had obtained, if anything, was not stated. The point was that the count charging conspiracy to "obtain" information carried a maximum ten-year penalty; others of the six counts charging conspiracy to transmit information could have brought a death penalty. Summarizing the move a few days later, the **Times** said:

"The obvious reason for the change was to escape the death penalty. Normally when a defendant pleads guilty to part of an indictment, the defense moves for a dismissal of the remainder of the indictment and the prosecution concurs. In the case of the Sobles, however, the Government's concurrence may depend on how co-operative the defendants prove to be."

6-MONTH DELAY: The Government did not concur in dropping the other counts until six months later, after Soble—as we know from the evidence brought out at the Dr. Robert Soblen trial—had given more than 200 statements to the FBI. In the meantime, a fortnight after the Sobles pleaded guilty, Albam also changed his plea from innocent to guilty. His attorney told the court that Albam had committed no overt acts, that with him it was a case not of what illegal acts he had committed so much as what he was prepared to do in the alleged conspiracy.

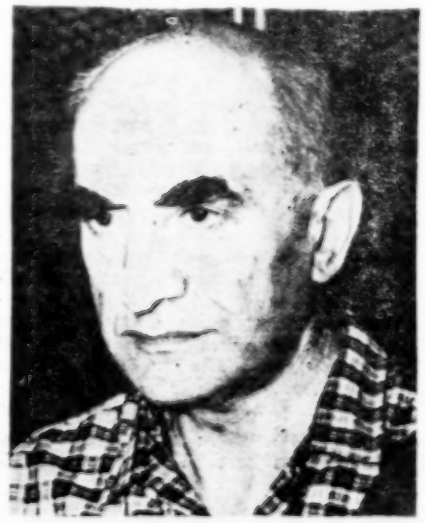
All three were sentenced Oct. 9, 1957: Soble to seven years, his wife Myra and Albam to four. Both the latter have completed their prison terms.

What the prosecution expected to obtain by deferring the dropping of the other counts for six months, thus continuing to hold the death penalty over the heads of the three, was hinted at by **Newsweek** in a story April 22, 1957, about the change of pleas.

"The FBI proved characteristically tight-lipped," **Newsweek** wrote. "It divulged almost nothing about the spy ring's operations." This situation, **Newsweek** added, "will all be changed when the Sobles spill what they know."

At the trial this year of Dr. Robert Soblen (June 19 to July 13) which resulted in a sentence of life imprisonment Aug. 7, Jack Soble was the government's star witness. Either he was on the stand or there were court arguments on his testimony through most of the trial. On direct examination (virtually the only portion of his testimony that was reported in the press) Soble gave voluminous, but vague accounts of meetings—over the last 40 years, on three continents, in half-a-dozen countries—he said he had with a score of Russians.

'ANY INFORMATION': In these alleged meetings, Soble said, he had organized a vast plot to get any kind of "information" possible for the Soviet Union, on a directive given to him and his brother in 1939 by the late Lavrenti Beria, the GPU chief. "We would like both of you to go abroad to work for us," Soble testified Beria had told him and his brother, on condition of permitting a dozen members of the Sobolevicius family to leave the war-ravished country, "to gather infor-



JACK SOBLE
The synthetic "master spy"

mation of any value to the Soviet Union." In short, in Soble's words, "Penetrate the West."

Then, finally, a skeptical attorney had a chance to inquire into this farrago. Joseph Brill, Robert Soblen's lawyer, asked:

"Mr. Soble, we haven't heard yet what you personally did in connection with obtaining information respecting the national defense of the United States of America? . . . What did you do, Mr. Soble? I'm talking about the activities to which you pleaded guilty."

The government attorney objected. He said the question was too technical. After a lengthy harangue, trial judge William Herlands rephrased the question thus:

"Mr. Soble, will you tell the jury, please, what you did pursuant to arrangements, whatever they were, with . . . any of the contacts that you said you had in connection with the national defense?"

'TOO TECHNICAL': "I worked with my contacts in the field of Trotskyites, Mensheviks—" Soble began, but the Government attorney cut him off. He said the witness could hardly be expected to understand such technical legal terms as espionage or national defense. Brill appealed to the court: "I want his activities, what he did, with particular reference to his indictment and his plea of guilty, Your Honor."

The judge said the witness would be allowed to answer if the question were rephrased. The defense attorney then put it this way:

"Tell the court and jury, Mr. Soble, what were your activities, what did you do with respect to our national defense; what did you do; what information did you receive and transmit?"

After further objections, Soble said: "I am not clear at all about this legal definition of national defense. If national defense consists of atomic bombs and H-bombs and many modern weapons which this country created, you are very far away from the truth, because I had never anything to do with these things."

SOME ANSWERS: This colloquy ensued with the judge and the defense lawyer:

COURT: Mr. Soble, you had certain contacts?
WITNESS: Yes.
COURT: You were supposed to get information of value to the Russians?
WITNESS: Yes.
COURT: Did you get such information?
WITNESS: Yes.
COURT: Did you transmit it?
WITNESS: Yes.
COURT: Tell the jury, what was the information?
WITNESS: But, Your Honor, I don't consider this as national defense.
BRILL: You don't consider that national defense, what you did; am I correct?
WITNESS: Work among the Trotskyites, Mensheviks, and work among Zionists . . . I don't consider it as national defense of this country . . . I'm very happy that I didn't steal any national defense things from this country.
BRILL: We are too.
WITNESS: This is what I said to the investigators for several months and to the agents of the FBI.

AN OUTBURST: Judge Herlands asked Soble to tell the jury what information he had obtained "that related in any way to any government agency." The witness looked distraught. He drank several glasses of water, then in a half-audible voice mumbled about once having received a letter from Jane Foster. He couldn't remember what it was except it had "something to do with the United Nations." Then after a hysterical outburst which forced a recess, Soble gave this answer:

"I worked with the Trotskyites, I worked among the Zionists . . . So I wasn't having been busy for 24 hours in the national defense of the United States. Many inmates bother me that I was a top spy, according to our wonderful headlines in the papers, that I was the man who stole the atom bomb from the United States. Now you understand my state of mind in jails when I have to fight back."

"In other words," Brill interposed, "you feel that you are serving a prison sentence without being guilty of crimes, don't you?"

HIS CRIME: The prosecutor objected; and the court upheld him, refusing to allow the witness to answer the question. Then came this exchange between Brill and the man portrayed to the American people for the last four and a half years as Russia's "master spy":

Q. Didn't you tell the court and jury yesterday that your own attorney advised you not to plead guilty and against his advice you pleaded guilty?

A. Right . . . What do you mean I did not commit any crime in this country? What are you trying to do? I committed a crime because I lied to this Government. I came on the visa, having already falsified my questionnaire and not having answered if I was a Communist or not a Communist . . . That is why I am shouting. I am glad I am serving even this term because it showed me the way to truth."

After a recess, defense attorney Brill continued:

Q. So that we are clear as to precisely what you did in connection with your activities, am I correct that it was the Zionist movement, the Trotzkyites; is that right, sir?

A. Yes, mostly. I said I got a letter from Jane Foster which she brought from Washington connected with the United Nations activities.

Q. Just a letter?

A. Yes.

BORIS MORROS
He had the Hollywood touch

Q. Mr. Soble, would you tell the court and jury whether or not there was anything in that letter about national defense?

A. . . . It had nothing to do with national defense.

BRISTLE BUSINESS: So by his own unchallenged testimony, it was finally placed in the record that the only illegal act the "master spy" ever committed was failing to disclose when he first entered the U.S. that he had previously been a member of the Communist Party. Furthermore, he repudiated Boris Morros' characterization of him, and said he had never seen the Hearst series published under his by-line. His worldwide contact with "agents" turned out to have been in connection with his father's bristle business, the U.S.S.R. being the world's biggest bristle source.

Questioning also brought out that since his arrest 4½ years ago, Soble had been locked up because of mental derangement on six occasions; had been sent to the Federal mental hospital in Springfield, Mo., on three occasions for 30 electric shock treatments; had been officially diagnosed by the Psychiatric Board at the Springfield hospital as suffering from a condition of severe psychosis, with the result that most of the time he cannot distinguish between reality and fantasy.

In a contingent proceeding in the case of Prof. Zborowski, accused of falsely denying he had known Soble, the psychiatrist who treated Soble at Springfield, Dr. Donald B. Rinsley, said that the medical board's official diagnosis "is called involutional psychotic reaction in partial remission and what we call chronic brain syndrome."

BRAIN DISEASE: In lay language, said the government psychiatrist in sworn testimony, this means:

"We found Mr. Soble to be suffering from a depression, a very serious depression which is frequently found in individuals who are entering middle life, and we also found that he was suffering from some illness which we could ascribe to his higher brain functions. So that in essence he had two illnesses; one was his severe depressions and the other was the impairment he suffered as a result of his having organic brain disease itself."

Dr. Rinsley said a measure for assessing Soble's mental illness was to envision a chart ranging from zero for a mild mental derangement up to 10 for someone who was hopelessly insane and totally divorced from reality. Dr. Rinsley testified: "I would place him [Soble] about seven, perhaps seven and a half, perhaps eight. In other words, he is well along on this seriously ill side. He is much more seriously ill than he realizes."

In such a bizarre, Alice-in-Wonderland-like business, is not easy to assess what single element is the more fantastic: The marvelous alchemy of the FBI, whereby an individual who never trafficked in any way with national defense secrets is transformed through the magic of newspaper headlines into a "master spy"; or how a U.S. judge and jury could accept the unsupported word of a witness like Soble as the basis for sentencing his brother, a man already dying of leukemia, to life imprisonment for alleged participation in a spy conspiracy.

AN EYEWITNESS STORY FROM THE EAST-WEST 'BATTLEFRONT'

A vast racket ends as the Berlin border shuts

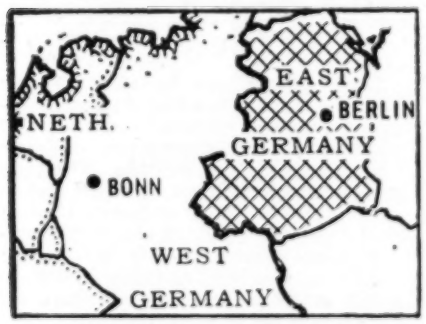
By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

WANDERERS between two worlds—that was how Walter Ulbricht recently described the hundreds of East Germans who were applying each day at the Marienfelde reception center in West Berlin and being flown out to West Germany, until the borders were closed Aug. 12.

The lid was put on the most profitable political and currency racket in history. Those who had gained by the racket griped. But on both sides of the border honest people sighed with relief and asked, "Why wasn't this done long ago?"

Few in East Berlin showed resentment of the measures taken by the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). All day Sunday, Aug. 13, thousands of people swarmed to Friedrichstrasse, in a good-natured mood, to see what was going on. The station had been closed to east-west through traffic, and several persons who had not heard the radio were caught looking foolish with bundles they had meant to "flee" with, to Marienfelde. Nothing happened to them; they turned around and went home. The others, who evidently found this the most interesting Sunday in years, poured out onto Unter den Linden and walked to the Brandenburg Gate, one of the 13 crossings left open to cars and pedestrians.



COLD-WAR HOT SPOT
Berlin is deep in East Germany

EASY ACCESS: Anybody who wanted to drive or walk in from West Berlin was permitted (motorists were later required to have passes.) The routine police check of personal and car identification papers was accomplished quickly and politely.

I spent an hour at the Heinrich Heine Strasse crossing. Not once did the soldiers inspect what was in a car, and they asked no questions. But I did: "What do you want to do in East Berlin today?" "Visit my wife's mother. . . . My mother. . . . My girlfriend. . . . Got to water my mother-in-law's plants while she's away on vacation. . . . My wife works in a store there, and we're helping her boss paint it today."

It was the normal Sunday traffic. West Berliners could also travel to West Germany just as before, and members of the occupation powers had free access to any part of town.

Before I went out Sunday morning I listened to RIAS (Radio In American Sector). After a recorded Bach cantata called "My Heart Is Swimming in Blood," the announcer solemnly stated that East Berlin streets were being torn up for gun emplacements and that Russian tanks were lining up along the border. I saw a line of about 20 East German tanks roaring past my own house, but they were not for Berlin use; there were no stationed tanks, guns or torn-up streets to be seen between the Berlin sectors. There were heaps of rusted, twisted barbed wire along those parts of the border not opened to traffic, and soldiers of the People's Army were patrolling it and quietly putting up with a lot of heckling from the West Berlin side.

PROVOCATIONS: On Unter den Linden, at Friedrichstrasse, workers' militia, volunteers from the factories, were on patrol. They held rifles, but were friendly and polite. The curious crowds passed by them, speaking their minds without restraint, some arguing, some wise-cracking. Belated attempts at "spontaneous" provocations on the west side of the Brandenburg Gate were repulsed by the East German patrols and on Monday afternoon the Gate crossing was closed to traffic.

On Monday, 53,000 East Berliners were prevented from working in West Berlin, and the workers of West Berlin were thankful. The East Berliners (called "border jumpers") had been used to force down wages and break strikes. They got 40% of their wages in west marks. What they didn't spend in West Berlin they exchanged in the West Berlin "Wechselstuben" at the rate of one west to four or five east. These cheap marks affected the East German economy as counterfeit bills would. If his rent cost 48 marks a month, a border jumper was in effect paying only 12 or less. With this cushion he didn't mind working for less money.

THE MIGRATION: The West German papers were reporting an influx of more than 1,000 East Germans a day before the border closed. Was this true? And even if there were only 500, what was the explanation?

The best opinion is that the West German press exaggerated the migration figures in the hope of demoralizing the East Germans and luring still more of their skilled workers, doctors, teachers and young people. The method worked. But if as many people had left as papers said, there would have been not merely slowdowns in the East German economy —as there were—but out-and-out breakdowns, which was not the case. The most serious single problem for the GDR was the loss of doctors.

There were many reasons why people left, but it never was for lack of money or security or food or any of the necessities of life. A great many migrants—especially doctors and professors—left beautiful homes, high salaries and many privileges for an illusion that they were going to live more glamorously, excitingly in the West. Thousands of these came back sadder and wiser—and broke—to Barby and the other reception centers in the GDR.

AN EAST BERLIN MILITIAMAN PATROLS BERLIN'S NEW BORDER FENCE
The West Berliners gathered, but there was no violence

Some left for a specific offer of more money: 500 to 1,000 marks a head were paid to agents for luring especially desirable persons to West Germany. Many migrants were secret Nazis or revanchists who felt fettered in an atmosphere where they could not express their violent sentiments. Others were irritated by the high-minded and preachy newspapers of the GDR, in which nothing can be found about sex murders or horrible accidents. Some were enraged by self-righteous, lecturing functionaries who quite often landed up in the West themselves.

In the last two weeks many more people left precipitately, because they realized that the GDR was going to crack down, and they were in a panic lest the border close before they made up their minds. Some may have had something to hide; the rest were victims of the West German propaganda mill, which works ceaselessly to destroy faith in the GDR.

AN EXAMPLE: A recent case illustrates the propaganda campaign. About two weeks ago the West Berlin press invented a story which was picked up by Arthur Olsen of the New York **Times.** A young East German woman, Ruth Markert, was alleged to have died because an East German hospital refused to admit her, as a reprisal against her husband, a border jumper. The young widower appeared on East German television and denied the story. An East German doctor had visited his wife twice and urged him to take her to the local hospital immediately. He never did so. He kept her at home until she was near death, then rushed her, too late, to a hospital in West Berlin, where she died. On TV, visibly upset, he clutched his 2-year-old child in his arms and said:

"You get so you don't know who to be loyal to any more."

This statement reveals the one deep, underlying reason for the exodus which has dwarfed all the others. In this artificially divided country most people no longer know what patriotism means. Which is their Fatherland? East, West, or the past?

Technically they are still in a state of war—they have no peace treaty. Living between accusations and counter-accusations from two different social systems, many have grown cynical and begun figuring only in terms of me-first. They have not only lost all morality; they simply don't know what it is. What such people do understand and respect—alas, this is Germany—is a show of toughness. That they could run their east-west rackets with immunity all these years, profiting on the illegal money exchange system in West Berlin at the expense of the GDR, filled them with contempt for the socialist government. No other had ever been so patient.

STREET SCENE: As I was hurrying down a side street Sunday morning, I heard a very old man say to an elderly woman, apparently a neighbor: "And now I suppose the government will blame the West for all this. The West started it, they'll say. Well, we can see who started it!" I slowed down. "Yes, yes," the old woman agreed, obviously to humor him; but an intense middle-aged man, who had also overheard, burst out at him:

"Keep quiet if you don't know what you're talking about! The Americans have called up the reserves—did you know that? I didn't want to see the border closed, I'm a born Berliner and it hurts me to see it, but there's no way out! I'm sick of one west mark to four east, one to five, one to six, one to seven! They were ruining us!"

The old man said in an injured tone: "You can't even talk in the street any more!"

"No, Pop, not if you haven't learned anything in all these years!"

"I bet you never even served in any war," said the old man.

The other was infuriated. "I damn well served in two!" he shouted. "I've had enough!"

East Berliners and East Germans are now allowed to go to West Berlin only with special permission—until a peace treaty is signed, the GDR government says. This will be a severe blow to West Berlin's Kurfurstendamm, whose showy shops depended to a large extent on East Berlin customers. Those customers were one of Bonn's aims in hanging onto West Berlin—pulling 'em in, first to the stores and films, and from there into West Germany's army, armaments industry, and anti-GDR sabotage agencies.

"Without customers West Berlin's not worth a damn," a West Berlin worker from Osram, the electric bulb plant, said to me that Sunday morning. "Maybe Bonn will be only too glad to get rid of it now! Maybe we'll have peace!"

LABOR LEADER DEPORTED BY U.S.

Ferdinand Smith is dead in Jamaica

FERDINAND SMITH, one of the most prominent Negro labor leaders in the U.S. during the Thirties and Forties, died on Aug. 15 in Kingston, Jamaica, where he was born. He was 67.

The U.S. government brought his career in this country to an end when he was forced to leave under deportation proceedings as an "undesirable" and a "subversive" ten years ago. He continued his activities as a labor leader as an assistant secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions and was still a participant in union affairs in Jamaica until his death.

He first came to this country in 1918 as a seaman. In 1936-37 he was a co-founder of the National Maritime Union and served as its national secretary until he was "purged" as a left-winger in 1948. He was the first Negro to serve on the executive council of the old CIO.

His interests extended beyond the trade union movement and at various times he was an executive board member of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem; director of the New York weekly **People's Voice**; treasurer of the National Negro Congress; executive board member of the Council on African Affairs, and a director of the George Washington Carver School. He had also been active in the progressive movement.

NEW YORK

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School aid bill

(Continued from Page 1)

of almost $1,500,000,000 a year to meet what the Washington **Post** has called the "state of crisis" of the American public school system. Although President Kennedy had stated his belief that direct government aid to sectarian schools is unconstitutional (the Supreme Court has so ruled), Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, and American Catholic bishops announced their intention to fight for the inclusion of parochial schools in any Federal aid program.

The Administration bill would have provided Federal grants totaling $2,550,000,000 over the next three years for public elementary and secondary schools. The funds, pro-rated to the states according to need, would have been used for school construction, new classrooms and teachers' salaries and for general operating and maintenance costs.

In the Senate, the bill's backers fought off all amendments they thought would doom it; these included anti-segregation proposals and provisions for aid to parochial schools. The measure passed intact on May 25 on a 49-to-34 vote and the battle shifted to the House.

TONS OF MAIL: By then the Catholic clergy had set a prairie fire across the country and startled congressmen could feel their hair being singed. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, established 42 years ago by American bishops "to organize, unify, and co-ordinate Catholic activities" and "to safeguard the interest of Catholic schools," had organized a letter-writing and petition campaign which buried Congress in tons of mail; for some congressmen the volume was unprecedented. One said: "We darned near had a first-class holy war in my district. In the late spring I began to be bombarded with letters. One letter compared Kennedy and me to Gomulka; we wanted to destroy religion."

On March 13 Spellman made another public announcement: "I am still opposed to any program of Federal aid that would penalize a multitude of America's children because their parents choose to exercise their constituitional right to educate them in accordance with their beliefs. . . . The Administration's proposal in the field of elementary and secondary schools is not fair and equitable. It would limit Federal aid to public schools and thereby withhold benefits from millions of children attending private and church-related schools."

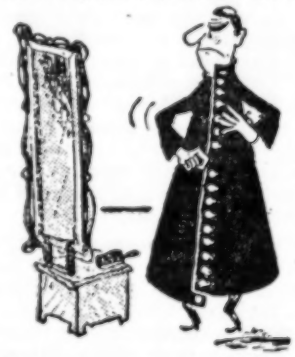
Protestants fired back and House hearings on the bill had all the overtones of a religious war. The National Council of Churches, a federation of 33 autonomous Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions, sent out the word that "Roman Catholic interests are jeopardizing the Federal aid bill to public schools . . . While we recognize their right to work as citizens for their interests, it is important for non-Catholics to work with equal diligence for what they consider best for the country and for all the churches."

POWELL PLEDGE: To keep the school-aid bill intact, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, promised that Catholic demands for aid to parochial schools would be considered later under another pending bill to extend and expand the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). He ruled out of order, on the basis of this pledge, an amendment by Rep. Herbert Zelenko (D-N.Y.) to provide $120,000,000 a year for private and parochial school facilities (the amendment was endorsed by Spellman). It was understood that there was tacit White House backing for the Powell approach. The House Education Committee approved, 18 to 13, the school-aid bill on May 24 in substantially the same form as passed by the Senate, and it was sent on to the Rules Committee.

The NDEA was enacted in 1958 in response to the first Soviet Sputnik. It provides outright grants to public schools and loans to private schools to equip classrooms for instruction in mathematics, science and foreign languages. It also grants loans to college students, awards graduate fellowships and assistance for guidance and counseling.

On June 27 the House Education Committee approved an expanded NDEA which included a provision for $375,000,000 over the next three years for 40-year loans to private and parochial schools for construction of "special educational facilities" of a non-religious nature. The measure also extended other NDEA benefits to parochial schools. Powell said that aid to church schools under the NDEA is not aid to religion but to defense. While the committee was voting on the measure, the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare released a memorandum stating that loans to parochial schools under the NDEA would be constitutional. This stirred up again all those opposed to any aid to religious schools as a violation of the separation of church and state.

PRIORITY FIGHT: Meanwhile the Rules Committee had been sitting on the school-aid bill while a battle of priority was being fought. Rep. John W. McCormack (D-Mass.), majority leader and a Catholic, proposed that the House act on the NDEA bill before considering the school-aid bill. The move seemed to have the approval of both the White House and Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham A. Ribicoff. The New York **Times** indignantly protested the delay in



an editorial on June 10: "In view of the maneuvers that are now going on to slip through Federal aid to parochial schools in a far greater scale than it is already being given, the President has the duty to speak out again."

The next day House Speaker Sam Rayburn moved in to restore priority to the school-aid bill; he had earlier reorganized the Rules Committee to give him what he thought was a safe 8-to-7 majority. But on June 15 two Northern Democrats on the committee, both Catholics and Administration supporters, served notice that they wouldn't vote for clearance of the school-aid bill until the NDEA bill was ready for floor action. They were Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Boston) and James J. Delaney (Queens, N.Y.).

On June 20, after a closed-door debate, O'Neill and Delaney joined conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats on the committee to deny clearance to the school-aid bill until the NDEA bill was in hand. Columnist Drew Pearson quoted one angry Democrat: "Cardinal Spellman killed the bill as surely as if he had come here and voted against it." Pearson also noted that Kennedy had compromised on the church-state issue "by accepting the Spellman proposal of Federal aid to Catholic schools which taught science, mathematics and foreign languages under the guise of national defense."

Rev. Dean M. Kelly of the National Council of Churches said: "At last the Catholic tactic is out in the open and nobody can disguise why this bill is hung up."

BILLS DIE: The fight dragged on until July 18 when the Rules Committee, in an unexpected move, voted 8 to 7 to kill not only the school aid bill, but the NDEA bill and a third one providing assistance to higher education. Delaney cast the deciding vote. A week earlier he had said he wanted an entirely new "non-discriminatory" bill providing Federal grants for all schools, public and private.

In a rare burst of anger, the New York **Times** on July 19 called it an "outrageous vote" and said: "It was bad enough to demand the ransom that the proponents of parochial school aid did demand as the price for release of the public school bill; but it is worse to obtain the ransom and then fail to carry through with the deal. . . .

"For the first time in the United States the interests of Catholic education are being set against the interests of secular education in a political context . . .

"The action of the Rules Committee . . . need not be final. The President of the United States still has great power, if he chooses to exercise it. A month ago we urged him 'to step in emphatically and do what he can to rescue the bill that means so much to his reputation and to the country.' Curiously enough, he did not do so. His vaunted 'leadership' failed . . ."

Little enough can be salvaged now from the three bills killed. The stripped-down program proposed on Aug. 17 would provide $325,000,000 over one year for emergency construction, with the government providing 40% of the cost in school districts which can prove a need; extend for one year the college scholarship loans provided under the NDEA; extend a program of Federal aid to school districts overloaded with army personnel and Federal employees, and provide for a limited amount of college classroom construction.

But Speaker Rayburn is not committed to this compromise program and Rep. McCormack remarked that it "won't please anybody." The crisis of the public system goes on.

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REPORT TO READERS

Alliance for Progress

field, Guevara said: "Perhaps I should have suggested turning schools into fortresses.")

REPORTING CUBA'S 71% rise in education appropriations since 1958—it now spends the same as Denmark, $25 per capita, while the Latin American average is $5—Guevara said educational development must open the doors to the poorest peasants and workers. Health development must include everyone, not merely the employes of the U.S. monopolies, he declared. He caused quite a sensation by reading a "secret" State Dept. report to the U.S. ambassador in Venezuela, laying down the "line" that rich Latin Americans must be persuaded to accept some reforms or "face loss of their privileges and very possibly death up against a wall." Other points in the document, possession of which Guevara did not explain, were:

- There is almost no hope of bringing Mexico and Brazil, at least, into a Latin American "quarantine of Cuba";
- Cuban military support of rebellions in other countries is "extremely unlikely," the real danger being not so much of Cuba "exporting revolution" as of "growing misery among the Latin American masses giving pro-Castro elements [already existing in the country concerned] the opportunity to act."

Guevara guaranteed that not one rifle would move out of Cuba, but could not guarantee that Cuba's ideas would not take root in other countries. Cuba raised no objection to being left out of the "free world" credits, he said, but would not be left out of "the defense of Latin American cultural and spiritual life of which it is a part," and would accept no infringement of its freedom to trade where it liked. Chile supported Cuba's inclusion in the Alliance for Progress as a "free, sovereign state member of the OAS."

SEVERAL EGGS were laid by the U.S. during the conference, starting with the anti-Castro demonstration organized by Cuban counterrevolutionaries who were brought from Miami for the task. Despite all-day radio, TV and loudspeaker-car exhortations and special bus services from outlying communities, the demonstration drew about 700 people [the U.S. said 3,000—Ed.] to the square where 10,000 had demonstrated for solidarity with Cuba the previous night. To a Uruguayan newsman who asked why the Latin American press wasn't invited to the U.S. delegation's reception, Dillon said it was "an official's error." When the newsman asked if the "secret" U.S. document read by Guevara to the delegates was also the result of an official's error, Dillon's reply was described as "unfit for transation into Spanish."

Later, on instruction from the major U.S. catspaw, Premier Pedro Beltran of Peru, a guard barred Guevara from one of the conference's caucus rooms, a "mistake" which the conference secretary tried in vain to undo.

Guevara told the conference in effect—and press comments showed that nobody doubted it—that any beneficiaries of the Alliance for Progress would have Cuba to thank for Washington's sudden concern. "There has been," he said, "a qualitative change in America, which is that one day a people can rise in arms, destroy an oppressor army and replace it with a popular one . . . stand before the invincible giant, wait for his attack and defeat it." This, Guevara added, had caused Washington to make passionate declarations of what "we" can do to end poverty and injustice, though it said no word about who was responsible for them.

Brazil's **Neuvos Rumbos** felt that the U.S. was only "playing with words," since it still wanted to control everything. The Argentine Socialist organ **La Vanguardia** noted that the U.S. was trying to bridle Cuba's growing influence "through distribution of an infinitely smaller amount than the U.S. takes from us in dividends." Doubts about Uruguay's chances of benefiting from the conference were shared by the organs of both big parties there, **El Dia** and **Tribuna. Mundo Ilustrado's** editor wrote: "We might be mistaken, but we suspect that it will produce nothing." The paper said the U.S. had sent down "gentlemen who only believe in money, who think money is something that exists in the world to make more money and that can only be invested in operations earning short-term profits." In any case, the conference would "not produce what the always hungry Latin American peoples hoped from it."

FROM the N.Y. TIMES international edition (the only U.S. paper seen here) Guevara's extraordinary two-hour speech—described as "rambling"—got 12 inches, mostly on an inside page, under a page-one headline: CASTRO FOES RIOT AT URUGUAY TALK AS CUBAN SPEAKS. The headline referred to four Cuban self-exiles who yelled "Death to Communism!" in the conference room and fought guards dragging them out as Che quietly sat down. Conceding that the speech was "interrupted three times by applause" and the chairman once "had to ring a bell to quiet the public," the same day's **Times** inflated an anti-Cuban propaganda story into 38 inches (with headlines and pictures) under a 5-column page-one line: WORKERS AND PEASANTS FLEEING CUBA IN A NEW WAVE.

The prospect that Cuba might sign the Alliance for Progress charter at the end of the conference Aug. 17 confronted the U.S. with "a major tactical problem" according to the **Times**, but Dillon made it plain that Cuba would get no Alliance funds under its present regime, although he saw no reason why the military dictatorship in Paraguay should not benefit.

Guevara, of course, refused to sign for Cuba, labeling the plan "an instrument of economic imperialism"—and not a delegate from the 20 nations that did sign doubted he spoke the awful truth.

For A. Shames

MONTREAL, CANADA

Please be advised that the subscription to A. Shames can no longer be enjoyed. He passed away on Bastille Day—his heart gave out storming the citadels of reaction every day. He enjoyed the GUARDIAN. It helped give him inspiration.

M. Miller

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Belfrage in 1492

BY NOW, GUARDIAN readers in a dozen or more cities have read reviews, mostly raves, of a book called **My Master Columbus**, by one Cedric Belfrage. This Belfrage is no impostor, but the self same chap who is currently Our Man in Havana. He finished the book just before he left London for Havana last fall. A GUARDIAN review by Barrows Dunham will appear next week. Meanwhile, feast on these:

To begin with, Britain's Alan Sillitoe, author of **Saturday Night & Sunday Morning** (novel and film), says **My Master Columbus** should have been a Book Society choice, comparable to Book of the Month selections here.

"I found it so absorbing I could hardly put it down," he wrote, "he has caught the first landfall of Columbus in the new world so vividly and originally. In my opinion it is a feat of imagination and research that comes off with complete success, makes a first class historical novel."

Henry Cavendish, a Miami, Fla., writer reviewing the book for the Chicago **Tribune** from only 90 miles from you know what, suspects that Belfrage may be slyly saying that there is not too much difference between "what the Spaniards did to the aboriginals of the West Indies in the name of Christianity and civilization and what our contemporary leaders are doing to scattered regions from Cuba to Laos in propagating the democratic way of life."

In the N.Y. **World-Telegram & Sun** critic W. G. Rogers starts off by saying "Imagine! New light on Columbus!" Then, sketching in Belfrage's narrative, (told in the first person by a fictional Bahaman youth of the period, Yayael) Rogers concludes: "At first Belfrage is all for laughs, then he derides, at last fiercely denounces. You'll like every bit of it."

The Indianapolis **Times** found it "ingeniously satirical"; the Columbus **Citizen** "cutting"; The Fort Wayne **News-Sentinel** found the comparison between the morals of the "pink people" and the natives "riotous."

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We could go on and on, from Hartford to Wichita Falls to Denver and points east and west, but from all indications, Our Man in Havana has the biggest hit on his hands since he wrote **Away from It All** back in the 30's.

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My Master Columbus, by Cedric Belfrage. Doubleday & Co., N.Y., 285 pp. $3.95.

the SPECTATOR

Goldwater's witches

TUCSON, ARIZONA

ON MARCH 28 the Arizona State Legislature bowed to powerful pressures and unanimously passed the Arizona Communist Control Act of 1961. The climate of Phoenix, the state capital, was one of fear and hysteria. The unanimous vote indicates that liberal legislators believed opposition would mean political suicide in this domain of Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater.

While the Legislature was in session, an Anti-Communist School featuring such professional patrioteers as Dr. Fred Schwarz, Herbert Philbrick, Robert Morris and others was held in Phoenix. The **Arizona Republic** and the Phoenix **Gazette**, both operated by the militantly pro-Goldwater Pulliam press and Phoenix's only newspapers, gave the school maximum support and publicity. Thousands of public school children were excused from classes to attend its sessions. About 7,000 people turned out to hear an address by Philbrick. Pickets outside the State Legislature called for the enactment of a raft of repressive legislation ranging from a state sedition law to a bill that would create a State Un-American Activities Committee.

Mirachi in the Wall Street Journal
"I'm chairman of a new committee set up to investigate any sections of American life that have so far escaped investigation."

On the heels of the Anti-Communist School came the formation of the Anti-Communist Movement of Maricopa County, with branches in many communities and daily press announcements of showings of the films **Operation Abolition** and **Communism on the Map.** Two nontenure teachers in the Phoenix area were dismissed after publicly expressing opposition to **Operation Abolition.** "For America" groups in the state stepped up their activity. The contract of Dr. Alan MacEwan was not renewed by the University of Arizona in Tucson because of alleged "poor teaching" subsequent to his participation in peace walks and enthusiastic reports he made about his trip to Cuba during the Christmas holidays. Former Arizona Supreme Court Justice Phelps, national board member of the John Birch Society, introduced Robert Welch, the society's leader, who appeared before a large audience in Phoenix. A spokesman of the Church League of America has spoken widely in the state, and there have been frequent attacks on the National Council of Churches. Clergymen have received threatening middle-of-the-night phone calls. "The Valley of the Sun" has become "The Valley of Fear."

THE ARIZONA COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT of 1961, eight pages in length, starts with a three-page analysis of the "communist conspiracy." The bill in effect outlaws the Communist Party in Arizona, although no evidence was presented to the legislators that a Communist Party exists in Arizona. Included in the Act is a sedition section with penalties of $20,000 fine or 20 years' imprisonment or both. The Act establishes a "loyalty oath" required of all Arizona public employes.

At first glance, the Act seems to require only an affirmative, non-controversial oath. However, a careful reading reveals that much more is included. A Part E is added, and this perverts the oath into a negative or disclaimer oath. The signer cannot be, remain or become a "member of the Communist Party of the United States or its successors or any of its subordinate organizations or any other organization having, for one of its purposes, the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the State of Arizona or any of its political subdivisions. . . ."

OPPOSITION TO THIS GROWING THREAT to civil liberties in Arizona is beginning to show itself, but the opposition is principally defensive. Liberals in the State were caught unawares by the intensity of the drive toward conformity to Goldwaterism.

Most significant as a positive fight-back is a suit being brought by Barbara Elfbrandt, a junior high school teacher in Tucson, asking the courts to nullify the oath section of the law. Many persons have balked at signing the oath. They include the Rev. John Clinton Fowler, rector of St. Michael's and All Angels Episcopal Church in Tucson, who is a member of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. His announced refusal has received favorable editorial comment in the Arizona **Daily Star.**

Mrs. Elfbrandt is a Quaker, and the Pima Friends Meeting of which she is a member has announced its support of her suit. The Arizona Civil Liberties Union is also supporting it.

An Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employes has been formed to raise funds. Briefs in the case were filed Aug. 15 in the Arizona Supreme Court, and the committee is determined to carry the case as far as necessary. Legal expenses are expected to run into the thousands of dollars. The attorney, W. Edward Morgan, has temporarily given up most of his other practice in order to devote full time to the Elfbrandt case. Funds are needed Checks should be made payable to Richard Gorby, Treasurer. The address of the committee is 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Ariz.

—Clyde R. Appleton.

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RESORTS

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